



The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."  
 "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the thirty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly talented with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persona. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."  
 —JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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**Selections:**  
**THE REBELLION:**  
**ITS ORIGIN AND MAINSPRING.**  
**ADDRESS**  
**OF**  
**HON. CHARLES SUMNER,**  
 Before the Fraternity of the Twenty-Eighth  
 Congressional Society, Nov. 25, 1861.

[On being presented to the crowded audience, the eloquent Senator was greeted with rounds of applause, long continued. When silence was obtained, he spoke as follows.]  
 Really, Boston is herself again! To-night, this large, brimming audience will listen to me. To-morrow night another will listen to Henry Ward Beecher; and the night after, still another will listen to Wendell Phillips—all of us on the same theme, and with inspiring object in view. But they are orators, unsurpassed in our country. I can only speak to you sincerely and plainly, and throw myself upon your kind indulgence.  
 [Mr. Sumner then proceeded as follows, frequently interrupted by hearty applause.]

**FELLOW CITIZENS:** In the presence of such an audience—assembled for no purpose of party or even of politics, in the ordinary sense of that term—I incline naturally to some topic of literature or of history, or of science—of art—to something at least which speaks for Peace. But at this moment when our whole continent is beginning to shake with the tread of mustering armies, the voice refuses any such theme. The ancient poet, longing to sing of Achilles and the house of Atreus, found that he could only sing of love, and heathed from his lyre its bloody string. Alas! for me the case is all changed. I can speak to you only of War; but do not forget that if I speak of War, it is because unhappily War has become to us the only way of Peace.

It is not easy to opt to appear trivial and unimportant while the Past and Future are grand. Rarely do men know the full significance of the period in which they live, and we are all inclined to sigh for something better in the way of opportunity—such as was given to the hero of the Past, or such as our imagination allots to the better hero of the Future. But there is no occasion for such repining now. It is not in the Past—and it is difficult to imagine anything in the Future—more inspiring than our Present. Even with the curtain yet slightly lifted, it is easy to see that events are now gathering, which, in their development, must constitute the third great epoch in the history of this Western Hemisphere—the first being its discovery by Christopher Columbus, and the second being the American Revolution. And now it remains to be seen if this epoch of ours may not surpass in grandeur either of its two predecessors, or that of the fame of the Discoverer and the fame of the Liberator—of Columbus and of Washington—may be eclipsed by the mild influence beaming from an act of god-like Justice, which, within its immediate influence, will create a new heaven and a new earth, while in other lands its life-giving example will be felt—so long as men struggle for right; denied; so long as any human being wears a chain.

War is always an epoch. Unhappily, history country by wars. Of these there have been wars of ideas—like that between the Catholics and Huguenots in France; between the Catholics and Protestants in Germany; between the arbitrary crown of Charles I. and the Puritanism of Oliver Cromwell; and like that between our fathers and the mother country, when the Declaration of Independence was put in issue. Some have originated in questions of form, some in the contentions of families, some in the fickle-ness of princes, and some in the machinations of politicians. England waged war on Holland, and one of the towns openly assigned was an offensive picture in the Town Hall of Amsterdam. France hurled her armies across the Rhine, carrying fire and slaughter into the Palatinate, and involving great nations in a most bloody conflict, and all this wickedness has been traced to the intrigue of a Minister, who sought in this way to divert the attention of his Sovereign. But we are now in the midst of a war, which, whatever may be the reasons assigned by the unhappy men who began it, or by those who sympathize with them elsewhere, has an origin so clear and definite as to be beyond question. Ideas are sometimes good and sometimes bad; and there may be a war for evil as well as for good. Such was the earliest rebellion waged by fallen spirits against the Almighty Throne; and such also that now waged by the fallen slave-masters of our Republic against the National Government.

If you will kindly listen, I shall now endeavor to unmask this Rebellion, in its Origin and Mainspring. It is only when these are known that you can determine how the Rebellion is to be treated. Your efforts will naturally be governed by the character of the adverse force—whether regarded as a military power, or as a disease. A steam-engine is stopped at once by the stopping of the water in the boiler, and has crumpled the very fibres of the human frame, and shot its poison through every vein, will not yield to lip-salve or rose-water.

Diseases degenerate grown by desperate appliances are relieved, or not at all.  
 On the 6th of November last, the people of the United States, acting in pursuance of the Constitution and laws, chose Abraham Lincoln President. Of course, this choice was in every particular constitutional and legal. As such, it was entitled to the respect and acquiescence of every good citizen. It is in vain to say that the candidate represented opinions obnoxious to a considerable section of the country, or that he was chosen by votes confined to a special section. It is enough that he was duly chosen. You cannot set aside or deny such an election without assuming to bury the whole framework of the Constitution; but such is the primal principle of American Institutions. You become a traitor at once to the existing Government, and also to the very idea of popular rule. You snatch a principle from the red book of Despotism, and openly substitute the cartridge-box for the ballot-box.

And yet scarcely had this intelligence been flashed across the country, before the mutterings of sedition and treason began to reach us from the opposite quarter. The Union was menaced; and here the first distinct voice came from South Carolina. A Senator from that State—one of the largest slaveholders in the country, and a most strenuous partisan of slavery—Mr. Hammond—openly declared, in language not easily forgotten, that before the 18th of December, South Carolina would be "out of the Union high and dry, and forever." These words heralded the outbreak. With the pertinacity of demons, its leaders pushed forward. Their avowed object was the dismemberment of the Republic by

detaching State after State, in order to found a slaveholding Confederacy. And here the clearest utterance came from a late Representative of Georgia—Mr. Stephens—now Vice-President of the rebel States, who did not hesitate to proclaim "that the foundations of the new government were laid upon the great truth, that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is the negro's natural and moral condition; that it is the first government in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth; and that the stone which was rejected by the first builders is in the new edifice become the chief stone of the corner." Here is a savage frankness which shows an insensibility to shame. Surely the object avowed is hideous in every aspect, whether we regard it as treason to our paternal government; as treason to the idea of American Institutions; or as treason also to those commanding principles of economy, morals and Christianity, without which Civilization is changed into Barbarism.

And now we stand face to face in deadly conflict with this double-headed, triple-headed treason. Beginning with those States most peculiarly interested in slavery, and operating always with an intensity proportioned to the prevalence of slavery, it has fastened upon other States less interested—Tennessee—North Carolina—Virginia—and with difficulty has been prevented from enveloping every State containing slaves—no matter how few; for such is the malignant poison of slavery, that only a few slaves will constitute a slave State, with all the sympathies and animosities of slavery. This is the Rebellion which I am to unmask. But bad as it is on its face, it becomes aggravated when we consider its origin, and the agencies by which it has been conducted. It is not merely a Rebellion; but it is a Rebellion begun in Conspiracy; nor in all history, ancient or modern, is there any record of Conspiracy so vast and so wicked, ranging over such spaces both of time and territory, and contemplating such results. A conspiracy to seize a castle, or to assassinate a monarch, or to burn a city, or to engage in unprovoked treason, where half a continent is studded with castles, and fortresses, and public edifices, is seized—where the Government itself is overturned, and where the President on his way to the national Capitol narrowly escaped a most cruel assassination.

But no conspiracy could have ripened into such wicked fruit, if it were not rooted in a soil of congenial malignity. To appreciate properly this influence, we must go back to the beginning of the Government. South Carolina, which has taken so forward a part in this treason, hesitated originally, as is well known, with regard to the Declaration of Independence. Once her vote was recorded against that act; and when it finally prevailed, her vote was given for it only formally, and for the sake of seeming unanimity. But so little was she inspired by the Declaration, that, in the contest which ensued, her Commissioners made a proposition to the British Commander, which has been properly characterized by an able historian as "equivalent to an offer from the State to return to the British Crown." The same hesitation shown with regard to the Declaration of Independence was repeated with regard to the Federal Constitution; and here it was shared by another State. It is notorious that both South Carolina and Georgia, which with the States carved out of their original territory—Alabama and Mississippi—constitute the chief seat of the conspiracy—hesitated to become parties to the Union, and stipulated expressly for the recognition of the slave trade in the Federal Constitution as an indispensable condition. In the Convention, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, while proposing a tax on the importation of slaves, said: "The true question at present is, whether Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union." Mr. Pinckney, also of South Carolina, followed with the unblushing declaration: "South Carolina can never receive the plan [of the Constitution] if it prohibits the slave trade." I quote now from Mr. Madison's authentic report of these important debates. (See Elliot's Debates, Vol. V., p. 457.)

With shame let it be confessed, that instead of repelling this disgraceful offer, our Fathers submitted to it, and in that submission you will find the beginning of our present sorrows. The slave trade, whose aggregate iniquity no tongue can tell, was placed for twenty years under the safeguard of the Constitution, thus giving to slavery itself increased support and sanction. The language was modest, but the intent was complete. South Carolina and Georgia were pacified, and took their places in the Union to which they were openly bound only by a most revolting tie. Regrets for the Past are not entirely useless, if out of them we get wisdom for the Future, and learn to be brave. It is easy now to see that had the unnatural pretension of these States been originally encountered by a stern resistance worthy of an honest people, the present Conspiracy would have been crushed before it saw the light. Its whole success from its distant beginning down to this hour has been from our timidity.

But there was also another sentiment, of a kindred perversity, which prevailed in the same quarter. This is vividly portrayed by John Adams in a letter to Gen. Gates, dated at Philadelphia, 23d of March, 1776:—"However, my dear friend Gates, all our misfortunes arise from a single source, the resistance of the Southern Colonies to Republican Government." (John Adams's Works, Vol. I., p. 207.)

And he proceeds to declare in strong language that "popular principles and axioms were abhorrent to the inclinations of the barons of the South." This letter was written in the early days of the Revolution. At a later period of his life, John Adams testifies again to the discord between the North and the South; and he refers particularly to the period after the Federal Constitution, saying: "The Northern and Southern States were invariably fixed in opposition to each other." (See Letter to James Lloyd, 11th February, 1815, John Adams's Works, Vol. X., p. 19.) This was before any question of Tariff, or of Free Trade, or before the growing fortunes of the North had awakened Southern jealousy. The whole opposition had its root in slavery—was also had the earlier resistance to Republican Government.

In the face of these influences the Union was formed; but the seeds of Conspiracy were latent in its bosom. The spirit already revealed was scarcely silenced; it was not destroyed. It still existed, rankling, festering, burning to make itself manifest. At the mention of slavery, it always appeared fully armed with barbarous pretensions. Even in the first Congress under the Constitution—at the presentation of that famous petition where Benjamin Franklin simply called upon Congress to step to the verge of its powers to discourage every species of traffic in our fellow-men—this spirit broke forth in violent threats. With a kindred lawlessness, it early embraced that extravagant dogma of State Rights, which has been ever since the convenient cloak of treason and of conspiracy. At the Missouri Question in 1820, it only menaced a dissolution of the Union. Instead of throttling the monster, we submitted to feed it with new concessions. Meanwhile the Conspiracy

grew, until at last in 1850, under the influence of Mr. Calhoun, it assumed the defiant front of Nullification; nor did it yield to the irresistible logic of Webster or the stern will of Jackson without a Compromise. The pretended ground of complaint was the Tariff; but Andrew Jackson, himself a patriot slaveholder—at that time President—saw the hollowess of the complaint. In a confidential letter, which has only recently been brought to light, dated at Washington 1st May, 1833—and which during the last winter I had the honor of reading and holding up before the conspirators of the Senate, in the original autograph—he says:—"The Tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question."  
 Jackson was undoubtedly right; but the pretext which he denounced in advance was employed so constantly afterwards as to become thread-bare. At the earliest presentation of Abolition petitions—at the Texas Question—at the Compromises of 1850—at the Kansas Question—on all these occasions the Union was threatened by the angry slave-masters. But the Conspiracy has been unobscuredly confessed by the very acts of those States which have done in the rebel convention of South Carolina. Mr. Packer said:—"Secession is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us. It has been gradually culminating for a long series of years."  
 Mr. Inglis said:—"Most of us have had this subject under consideration for the last twenty years."  
 Mr. Keitt said:—"I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life."  
 Mr. Rhett, who was in the Senate when I first entered that body, and did not hesitate then to avow himself a Disunionist, said—in the same convention:—"It is nothing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or the non-extension of the Fugitive Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years."  
 The Conspiracy thus exposed by Jackson and confessed by recent parties to it, was quickened by the growing passion for slavery throughout the Slave States. The well-known opinions of the Fathers—the declared convictions of all who were most eminent at the foundation of the government, and the example of Washington were all discarded, and it was recklessly avowed that slavery is a divine institution—the highest type of civilization—a blessing to master and slave alike—and the very keystone of our national arch. A generation has grown up with this teaching, so that it is now ready to say with Satan—

"Evil be thou my good; by thine at least Divided empire will heaven's King I hold, As man ever long, and thus the world, shall know."  
 It is natural that a people thus trained should listen to the voice of Conspiracy. Slavery itself is a constant Conspiracy, and its supporters, whether in the Slave States or elsewhere, easily become indifferent to all rights and principles by which it may be constrained. But this rage for slavery was itself quickened by two influences, which have shown themselves since the formation of our Union—one economic, and the other political. The first was found in the unexpected importance of the cotton-roy, which, through the labor of slaves and the genius of a New England inventor, has passed into an extraordinary element of wealth and of imagined strength, so that we have all been summoned to do homage to cotton as king. The second of these influences was found in the temptations of political power—than which no influence is more potent—if it became obvious that this power could be assured to slavery only through the permanent preponderance of its representatives in the Senate; so that the continued control of all offices and honors was made to depend upon the extension of slavery. Thus, through two strong appetites—the gain and the other for power—was slavery stimulated; but the Conspiracy was strongly urged through slavery.

But even this Conspiracy, thus supported and nurtured, would have been more wicked than strong, if it had not found perfidious aid in the very Cabinet of the President. The Secretary of the Treasury, a slave-master from Georgia—the Secretary of the Interior, a slave-master from Mississippi—the Secretary of War, the notorious Floyd, a slave-master from Virginia—and I fear, also, the Secretary of the Navy, who was a Northern man with Southern principles—lent their active exertions. Through these eminent functionaries the treason was organized and directed, while their important posts were prostituted to its infamy. Here, again, you see the extent of the Conspiracy. Never before in any country was there a similar crime, which embraced so many persons in the highest places of power, or which took within its grasp so large a theatre of human action. In anticipation of the election of Mr. Lincoln, the Cabinet conspirators had prepared the way for the rebellion.

First, The Army of the United States was so far dispersed and exiled, that the Commander-in-Chief found it difficult, during the recent anxious winter, to bring together a thousand troops for the defence of the national capital, menaced by the conspirators. Secondly, The Navy was so far dispersed or dismantled, that on the 4th of March, when the new Administration came into power, there were no ships to enforce the laws, collect the revenues, or protect the national property in the rebel ports. Out of 72 vessels of war, then counted as our Navy, it appears that our whole available force at home was reduced to the steamer Brooklyn, carrying 25 guns, and the storeroop Belier, carrying 2 guns. Thirdly, The Forts on the extensive Southern coast were so far abandoned by the public force that the larger part—counting upwards of 1200 cannon, and built at a cost of upwards of six million dollars—became at once an easy prey to the rebels. Fourthly, National arms were transferred from Northern to Southern arsenals, so as to disarm the Free States and equip the Slave States. This was done on a large scale. Upwards of 110,000 arms of the latest and most approved pattern, were transferred from the Springfield and Watervliet arsenals to different arsenals in the Slave States, where they have been seized by the rebels. And a quarter of a million percussion muskets were sold to various Slave States for \$2.50 a musket, when they were worth, it is said, on an average, \$12. Large quantities of cannon, mortars, powder, ball and shell received the same direction. Fifthly, The National Treasury, which, so recently, had been prosperous beyond example, was disorganized and plundered even to the verge of bankruptcy. Upwards of six millions are supposed to have been stolen, and much of this treasure, doubtless, went to help the work of Rebellion. Thus, even before its outbreak, the Conspiracy contrived to degrade and despoil the Government, so as to secure a free course for the projected Rebellion. The story seems incredible. But it was not enough to disperse the Army—to disarm the Navy—to abandon Forts—to disarm the Free States and to rob the Treasury. The President of the

United States, solemnly sworn to execute the laws, was won into a system of inactivity amounting to a practical abdication of his important trust. He saw treason plotting to stab at the heart of his country; he saw Conspiracy daily, hourly, putting on the harness of Rebellion; but, though warned by the watchful Commander-in-Chief, he did nothing to arrest it, standing always,

"—like a painted Jove, With idle thunder in his loved ears."  
 Ay, more; instead of those instant flashings, smiting and blasting in their fiery chariot, which an indignant patriot would have desired of the criminals, he nodded sympathy and acquiescence. No page of history is more melancholy—because nowhere do we find a ruler who so completely abandoned his country; not Charles I. in his tyranny, nor Louis XVI. in his weakness. Mr. Buchanan had been advanced to power by slave masters, who knew well that he could be used for slavery. The slaveholding conspirators were encouraged to sit in his Cabinet, where they doubly betrayed their country, first by evil counsels, and then by disclosing what passed to their distant slaveholding confederates. The sudden act of Mr. Sumner, in removing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and the patriotic response of an aroused people, compelled a change of policy, and the Rebellion received its first check. It was decided, at last, after a painful struggle, that Fort Sumter should be maintained. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of that decision, which, I believe, was due mainly to an eminent Democrat—General Cass. This, at least, is true: it saved the National Capital.

Meanwhile, the Conspiracy increased in activity—mastering State after State, gathering its forces and building its batteries. The time had come for the race to begin. At Nottingham, says the great English historian speaking of King Charles I., "he erected his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom." The same open signal now came from Charleston when the conspirators ran up the rattlesnake flag, and directed their wicked cannonade upon the small, half-finished garrison of Sumter.

Were all this done in the name of revolution, or by virtue of any revolutionary principle, it would assume a familiar character. But this is not the case. It is all done under the pretence of constitutional right. The forms of the Constitution are seized by the conspirators as they have already seized everything else—and wrested to the purposes of treason. It is audaciously declared that, under the existing Constitution, each State in the exercise of its own discretion may withdraw from the Union; and this asserted right of secession is invoked as the cover for a Rebellion begun in Conspiracy. The election of Mr. Lincoln is made the occasion for the exercise of this pretended right. Certain opinions at the North on the subject of slavery are made the pretext.

Who will not deny that this election can be a just occasion? Who will not condemn the pretext? But both occasion and pretext are determined by slavery, and thus testify to the part it has constantly performed. And the pretended right of secession is not less monstrous than the pretext or the occasion; and it, too, testifies to slavery. It belongs to that brood of assumptions and perversions, of which slavery is the prolific parent. Wherever slavery prevails this pretended right is recognized, and generally with an intensity proportioned to the prevalence of slavery; as, for instance, in South Carolina and Mississippi more intensely than in Tennessee and Kentucky. It may be considered a fixed part of the slaveholding system. A pretended right to set aside the Constitution to the extent of breaking up the government, is the natural companion of the pretended right to set aside human nature to the extent of making merchandise of men. They form a well-matched couple, and travel well together—destined to perish together. If we do not overflow toward the first with the same indignation which we feel for the latter, it is because its absurdity awakens our contempt. An English poet of the last century exclaims in mocking verse,—

"Crowned be the man with plating plate,  
 Who first contrived the lash,  
 To ease and awe from the chain,  
 And save the works within."

But this is the impossible contrivance which has been attempted. Nothing is clearer than that this pretension, if acknowledged, leaves to every State the right to play at will "the mad horse," but with very little chance of saving anything. It takes from the government not merely its unity, but even the possibility of continued existence, and reduces it to the shadow of a name, or at best a mere tenancy at will—an unsustained form liable to be decomposed at the touch of a single State. Of course, such an anarchical pretension—so instinct with all the lawlessness of slavery—must be encountered perpetually. It is not enough to declare our dissent from it. We must see that our conduct is such as not to give it any recognition or foothold. But instead of scouting this pretension, and utteringly spurning it from the Government, new concessions to slavery were gravely propounded as the means of pacification—like a new sacrifice offered to an obscene divinity. It was argued that in this way the Border States at least might be preserved to the Union, and some of the Cotton States, perhaps, be won back to their duty; in other words, that in consideration of these concessions, these States would consent to waive the present exercise of the pretended right of secession. Against all such propositions—without considering their character—there was on the threshold one obvious and imperative objection. It was clear that the very bargain or understanding, whether express or implied, was a recognition of this pretended right, and that a State yielding only to this appeal, and detained through concessions, practically asserts its claim, and holds it for future exercise, *tanquam gladium in vagina*. Thus a concession, called small, becomes infinite, for it concedes the pretended right of secession, and makes the permanence of the National Government impossible. Amidst all the grave responsibilities of the hour, it belongs to us to take care that the life of the Republic is sacredly preserved. But this would be sacrificed at once, did we submit its existence to the conditions sought to be imposed.

But, looking at the concessions proposed, I have always found them utterly unreasonable and indefensible. I should not expose them now, if they did not constantly testify to the Origin and Mainspring of this Rebellion. Slavery was always the single subject-matter, and nothing else. Slavery was not only an integral part of every concession, but the single integer. The single idea was to give some new security, in some form, to slavery. That brilliant statesman, Mr. Canning, in one of those eloquent speeches which charm so much by the style, said that he was "tired of being a security-grinder;" but his experience was not comparable to ours. "Security-grinding," in the name of slavery, has

been for years the way in which we have encountered this Conspiracy.

The propositions at the last Congress began with the President's Message, which in itself was one long concession. You do not forget his sympathetic participation of the disunion throughout the Slave States, or his testimony to the cause. Notoriously and shamefully his heart was with the conspirators, and he knew intimately the main-spring of their conduct. He proposed nothing short of a general surrender to slavery, and thus did he proclaim slavery as the head and front—the very causa causans—of the whole crime.

You have not forgotten the Peace Conference—as it was delusively styled—convened at Washington on the summons of Virginia, with John Tyler in the chair, where New York as well as Massachusetts was represented by some of her ablest and most honored citizens. The reasons were with closed doors; but it is now known that, throughout the proceedings, lasting for weeks, nothing was discussed but slavery. And the propositions finally adopted by the Convention were confined to slavery. Forbearing all details, it will be enough to say that they undertook to give to slavery positive protection in the Constitution, with new sanction and immunity—making it, notwithstanding the determination of our Fathers, *National*, instead of *Sectional*; and even more than that, making it one of the essential and permanent parts of our Republican System. But slavery is represented as descriptive as at other times it is bold; and these propositions were still further offensive from their studied uncertainty, amounting to positive duplicity. At a moment when frankness was needed above all things, we were treated to phrases pregnant with doubts and controversies, and were gravely asked, in the name of slavery, to embody them in the Constitution.

There was another string of propositions, much discussed during the last winter, which bore the name of the venerable Senator from whom they came—Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky. These were related to slavery, and nothing else. They were more obnoxious than even those from the Peace Conference. And yet there were petitioners from the North—and even from Massachusetts—who prayed for this great surrender to slavery. Considering the character of these propositions—that they sought to change the Constitution in a manner revolting to the moral sense; to foist into the Constitution the idea of property in man; to protect slavery in all present territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., and to carry it into all territory hereafter acquired south of that line, and thus to make our beautiful Stars and Stripes in their southern march the flag of slavery; considering that they further sought to give new constitutional securities to slavery in the National Capital and in other places within the exclusive Federal jurisdiction; that they sought to give new constitutional securities to the transit of slaves from State to State, opening the way to a roll-call of slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill or the gates of Faneuil Hall; and that they also sought the disfranchisement of more than 10,000 of my fellow-citizens in Massachusetts, whose rights are fixed by the Constitution of that Commonwealth, drawn by John Adams; considering these things, I felt at the time, and I still feel, that the best policy for these petitioners was, considering that they were ignorant of the true character of these propositions, and that in signing the petition they knew not what they did. But even in their ignorance they testified to slavery, while the propositions were the familiar voice of Slavery, crying, "Give, give."

There was another single proposition which came from still another quarter, but like all the others it related exclusively to slavery. It was to insert in the text of the Constitution a stipulation against any future amendment by which Congress might be authorized to interfere with slavery in the States. If you read this proposition, you will find it crude and ill-shaped—a jargon of bad grammar—a jumble and hog-podge of words—calculated to harmonize poorly with the accurate text of our Constitution. But even if tolerable in form, it was obnoxious, like the rest, as a fresh stipulation in favor of slavery. Sufficient surely in this respect is the actual Constitution. Beyond this I cannot—I will not go. What Washington, Franklin and Jay would not insert, we cannot err in rejecting.

I do not dwell on other propositions, because they attracted less attention; and yet among these was one to overturn the glorious safeguards of Freedom set up in the Free States, known as the Personal Liberty Laws. Here again was slavery—with a vengeance. But there is one remark which I desire to make with regard to all these propositions. It was sometimes said that the concessions they offered to slavery were "small." What a mistake is this! No concession to slavery can be "small." Freedom is priceless, and in this simple rule alike of morals and jurisprudence, you will find the just measure of any concession how small soever, by which Freedom is sacrificed. Tell me not that it concerns a few. I do not forget the saying of Antiquity, that the Government is where an injury to a single individual is regarded as an injury to the whole State; nor do I forget that memorable instance of our own recent history, where, in a distant sea, the thunders of our Navy with all the hazards of war were aroused to protect the liberty of a solitary person who claimed the rights of an American citizen. By such examples let me be guided rather than by the suggestions that Human Freedom, whether in many or in few, is of so little value that it may be put in the market to appease a traitorous conspiracy or to soothe those who, without such concession, threaten to join the conspirators.

But the warnings of the Past, like the suggestions of reason and conscience, were all against concession. Timid counsels have always been an encouragement to sedition and rebellion. If the glove be of velvet, the hand must be of iron. An eminent master of thought, in some of his most vivid words, seems to have spoken for us. Here they are:—"To expect to tranquillize and benefit a country by gratifying its agitators, would be like the practice of the superstitious of old, with their sympathetic powder and ointments; who, instead of applying medicaments to the wound, contented themselves with salving the sword which had inflicted it. Since the days of Dane-gelt downwards, may, since the world was created, nothing but evil has resulted from concession made to intimidation." (*Whately's Essays on Bacon*, Essay 15, p. 124.)

These words are most applicable to these times, when it has been so often proposed to save the record of secession. In the same spirit spoke the most eminent practical statesman in English history, Mr. Fox. Here are his words:—"To humor the present disposition and temporize is a certain, absolutely certain confirmation of the evil. No nation ever did or ever can recover from slavery by such methods." (*Charles James Fox, Letter to Lord Holland*, 18th June, 1804.)

Pardon me if I express a regret, profound and heartfelt, that the pretensions of slavery, whether in its claim of privilege or in its doctrine of secession, are not constantly tested to the Origin and Mainspring of this Rebellion. In the same spirit spoke the most eminent practical statesman in English history, Mr. Fox. Here are his words:—"To humor the present disposition and temporize is a certain, absolutely certain confirmation of the evil. No nation ever did or ever can recover from slavery by such methods." (*Charles James Fox, Letter to Lord Holland*, 18th June, 1804.)

There were not always encountered boldly and astutely. Alas! it is ourselves that have encouraged the Conspiracy, and made it strong. Secession has become possible only through long-continued concession. In proposing concession we have encouraged secession, and while professing to uphold the Union, we have betrayed it. It seems now beyond question, that the concessionists of the North have, from the beginning, played into the hands of the secessionists of the South. I do not speak in harshness or even in criticism, but simply according to my duty in unfolding historically the agencies, conscious and unconscious, which have been at work, while I hold them up as a warning for the Future. They all testify to slavery, which, from the earliest days, has been at the bottom of the Conspiracy, and also at every stage of the efforts to arrest it. It was slavery which fired the Conspirators, and slavery also which entered into every proposition of compromise. Secession and concession both had their root in slavery.

And now, after this review, I am brought again to the significance of that Presidential election with which I began. The slave-masters entered into that election with Mr. Breckinridge as their candidate, and their platform claimed constitutional protection for slavery in all territories, whether now belonging to the Republic or hereafter acquired. This concession was the ultimatum on which was staked their continued loyalty to the Union—as the continuance of the slave trade had been the original condition on which South Carolina and Georgia had entered into the Union. And the reason, though wicked, was obvious. It was because without such opportunity of expansion slavery would be stationary, while the Free States, increasing in number, would obtain a fixed preponderance in the National Government, assuring to them the political power. Thus, at that election, the banner of the slave-masters had for its open device—not the Union as it is; but the extension and perpetuation of Human Bondage. The popular vote was against further concession, and the conspirators proceeded with their crime. The occasion, so long sought, had come. The pretext, foreseen by Jackson, was the motive power.

But here mark well, that in their whole conduct, the Conspirators acted naturally under the instincts implanted by slavery; nay, they acted logically, even. Such is slavery, that it cannot exist unless where it owns the government. An injustice so plain can find protection only from a government which is a reflection of itself. Cannibalism cannot exist, except under a government of cannibals. Idolatry cannot exist, except under a government of idolaters. And slavery cannot exist, except under a government of slave-masters. This is positive, universal truth—at Petersburg, and in a population of many millions in Washington. The slave-masters of our country saw that they were dislodged from the National Government, and straightway they rebelled. The Republic which they could no longer rule, they determined to ruin.

But though thus audaciously wicked, they are not strong in numbers. The whole quantity of slaveowners, great and small, according to the recent census, is not more than four hundred thousand; out of whom there are not more than one hundred thousand who are interested in any considerable extent in this peculiar species of property; and yet more than half a million of our fellow-citizens are still more petty—less than a population of many millions, has aroused and organized this gigantic Rebellion. But this success is explained by two considerations. First, the asserted value of the slaves, reaching to the enormous sum-total of two thousand millions of dollars, constitutes an overpowering property interest—one of the largest in the world; to which may be added the intensity and unity of purpose naturally belonging to the representatives of such a sum-total, stimulated by the questionable character of the property. But, secondly, it is a phenomenon tested by the history of revolutions, that all such movements—at least in their early days—are controlled by minorities. They are controlled by a single minority once embarked, has before it only the single simple path of unobscuring action. While others doubt or hold back, the minority strikes and goes forward. Audacity, then, counts more than numbers, and crime counts more than virtue. This phenomenon has been observed before. "Often have I reflected with awe," says Coleridge, "on the great and disproportionate power which an individual of no extraordinary talents or attainments may exert by merely throwing off all restraint of conscience." The abandonment of all principle of right enables the soul to abuse and act upon a principle of wrong, and to subordinate to the one principle all the various virtues of human nature." (*Coleridge's Friend*, Essay 16.)

These are remarkable words. But a French writer, Condorcet, the philosopher of the French Revolution, who sealed his principles by his death, urged this very phenomenon for a practical purpose. In a pamphlet, addressed to the Parliamentary Reformers of England, he sought to enlist them in a revolutionary movement, and, by way of encouragement, he boldly announced that "revolutions must always be the work of the minority—that every revolution has been the work of a minority." The French Revolution itself was accomplished by the minority. And Brisot de Warville, another partaker and victim also in this great Revolution, declared that it was carried by not more than twenty men. The declarations were made the subject of a debate, shortly afterward, in the British Parliament, where Sheridan bore a brilliant part. They are most suggestive—even if they do not explain the early success of our conspirators. The future historian will record that the present Rebellion—by witnessing its protracted agony, the multitudinous it has enlisted, its tenaciousness, its persistence at last precipitated by fewer than twenty men; Mr. Everett says by as few as ten. It is certain that, thus far, it has been the triumph of a minority; but of a minority moved, inspired, combined and aggrandized by slavery.

And now this traitorous minority, putting aside all the lurking, slimy devices of Conspiracy, steps forth in the full panoply of War. Assuming to itself all the functions of Government; it organizes States under a common head—sends ambassadors into foreign countries—levies taxes—borrows money—issues orders of marquis—and sets armies in the field—summons from distant Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, as well as from nearest Virginia, and compels of the whole lawless and nominal—the poor who cannot own slaves as well as the rich, who own them—throughout the extensive region where, with Satanic grasp, this slaveholding minority claims for itself

"—a simple road, and very rough  
 The characters of Ball to trace."  
 Pardon the language which I employ. The words of the poet do not picture too strongly the object proposed. And now these parabolic hosts stand arrayed openly against that paternal Government to which they owed loyalty, protection and affection. (Concluded on fourth page.)

GENERAL SHERMAN'S PROCLAMATION.

Among the most marvellous things of the past week of wonders was the proclamation of Gen. Sherman to the deserted fields and houses of Hilton Head and Beaufort.

It is not the sense of our Generals—especially if they have an important position. And this splendid movement of our Army and Navy is to be toned down into a force, of which Dogberry himself might have been ashamed, all in fear of disturbing the blessed institution!

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

To the Congress of the United States: The undersigned, citizens of the State of...

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The first session of the thirty-seventh Congress assembled at Washington on Monday last. The responsibilities devolving upon that body, in view of the critical state of the country, exceed in solemnity those which have met any similar gathering since 1790...

GEN. JOHN A. DIX.

Gen. Dix, with the Navy of the United States at his command, and capable of raising hell-fire almost across any part of the entire peninsula from Chesapeake Bay to the Atlantic coast, has adopted, as a punishment for their sins, the issue of a proclamation. Not a proclamation in any way akin to that famous saying which created the John A. Dix whom the people love to think of as a man to be remembered and spoken of by the fire-side in years to come, and as a lesson and example to our children.

DOGBERRY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Of all the misfortunes that have befallen us, in this unhappy war, that of pacification Generals is the greatest. A corporal can't be sent with a file of men to forge in an orchard, or potatoe patch, but he issues a proclamation, announcing the most friendly and pacific designs. He comes only to restore peace, to see the laws enforced, and the Constitution upheld, and above all things, will not disturb the institutions of the old world, the potatoe patch!

WHAT TRUE PATRIOTISM DEMANDS.

"THE CHOICE BY LOT." Extract of a letter from a prisoner in Richmond, Va. dated Nov. 12, 1861: "The usual quiet of our prison was broken in upon Sunday afternoon by the appearance of Gen. J. H. Winder, commander of this place, who read an order from the authorities, directing him to select by ballot one Colonel of the United States Army, to stand as hostage for my life, until I am convicted in Philadelphia for piracy."

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

Liberty is of God, and has upon it His image and superscription. When His divines Son entered upon his mission, he declared, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me... to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound..."

There is not the sense of our Generals—especially if they have an important position. And this splendid movement of our Army and Navy is to be toned down into a force, of which Dogberry himself might have been ashamed, all in fear of disturbing the blessed institution! This is the crowning glory, thus far, of the landing of our fleet. What more it will say, we must patiently wait to see.—Ashubala Sentinel.

The very just criticisms of Gen. Halleck's order No. 3—that which forbids fugitive slaves to enter his lines—and the profound dissatisfaction which that useless and ill-timed document has created among the people, who have furnished and are furnishing the Army of the West with the troops who will smother the rebellion in the Valley of the Mississippi, ought to admonish the General to reconsider his action.

There is a class of utterly unscrupulous and thoroughly desperate enemies of emancipation here at the North, who, with the mask of loyalty covering their reasonable rages, are exerting themselves to the utmost to paralyze the strong right arm of government, and to encourage the Southern traitors never to yield to its supremacy, by audaciously threatening rebellion on our own free soil, in case Congress or the President shall decree the abolition of slavery, even to save the republic!

When that policy is adopted, the Treasury will close its doors, and New York cease to supply the sine of war. When that policy is adopted, the army will be demoralized, and the Generals that now lead it to victory will return to their homes in sorrow and shame!

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The Message of President Lincoln was delivered to Congress on Tuesday last. Its chief, almost its sole merit is its brevity, considering the staple of which it is made; and yet the tremendous issues of the hour, if properly treated in such a document, are not to be briefly disposed of. Every body says Mr. Lincoln is an "honest" man; but it is at least equally certain that he is very weak in his joints, and wholly disqualified to lead or inspire.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

We publish, entire, in our present number, the admirable Speech of Mr. Sumner, on "The Rebellion—its Origin and Main-Spring," as made before immense and applauding audiences in this and other cities.

THE BRIGADE GENERAL IS HENRY M. LOCKWOOD.

Whereas, Slavery has caused the present rebellion in the United States; and whereas, there can be no solid and permanent peace in this republic so long as that institution exists within it; and whereas, slaves are now used by the rebels as an essential means of supporting and protecting the war; and whereas, the law of nations, it is right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to weaken his power; therefore, be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, that the President be requested to declare free, and to direct all our Generals and officers in command to order freedom to all slaves who shall save their masters, or aid in quelling the rebellion.

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When we are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan, there shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their pictures and molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places. But if you will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then it shall come to pass that those which ye let remain of them shall be a snare to you, and shall be a scandal, and ye shall be a reproach to the land which ye shall dwell. Moreover, it shall come to pass that I shall do unto you, as I thought to do unto them.

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As, too, we estimate the conflicts between Liberty and Despotism in the past, so will posterity estimate the conflict in which we are engaged, and judge us. The Garrisons, Phillips, Quincy, May, Gerrit Smiths, Sumners and Chivers, in the "irrepressible conflict" of to-day, are the Adams, Hanscocks, Franklins and Jeffersons of '76. And let us cock, Franklins and Jeffersons of '76. And let us not build monuments to our fathers, and revile our brothers; but take such positions as those who are to come after us will honor—as God will approve and bless!

LETTER OF GERRIT SMITH TO EDWIN CROSWELL.

PETERBORO, November 27, 1861.

EDWIN CROSWELL, Esq.: Dear Sir,--I have just read your letter to Colonel Cochrane. It gratifies me not a little to find that your influence, which, so long as you were in the country, was so potent, is given to the furtherance of his wise and timely views on a point of vital importance to the country. You agree with the Colonel in the duty of availing ourselves of the black man's help to put down the rebels. I regret your mistake that the Abolitionists do not all agree with him. Your public declaration, that they do not, is of very injurious tendency--not to them only, but (and this is of far greater consequence) to the country, and to the sacred cause in which the whole country should be united.

You desire it to be, and to be known and felt to be, that all classes of our people stand with Colonel Cochrane in this respect. And, in your judgment, they all do, excepting the Abolitionists--or, as you phrase it, "excepting in Abolition quarters." Your exception is not warranted by facts. From the breaking out of the Rebellion until the present time, the Abolitionists, having been constantly in earnest to crush it, have been constantly eager to secure to this end the help of black men as well as white men. I am myself an Abolitionist. Nevertheless, I have written and spoken much for the identical position taken by Colonel Cochrane.

Instead of holding up the Abolitionists as opposed to Colonel Cochrane's views, you ought to do them the justice to acknowledge that, from the first, these views have been theirs also. I am not asking you to relax your opposition to their Abolition doctrines. Denounce these, if you will, more emphatically than ever. Expose to the utmost their folly in believing that the abolition of slavery would be an effective means for routing the rebels. Only admit that, however wrong they are in other respects, they are clearly identified with these views of Colonel Cochrane.

I confess that I am sadly disappointed in this war. I took it for granted that our whole people would very soon be in favor of employing all means to bring it to the speediest end. The Abolitionists are. But considerable portions of all other parties are not. Without denying that salvation can come to my country alone through her repentance for her oppression, I, nevertheless, cannot hope for such repentance as long as she is so infatuated as to be unwilling to be saved by whatever means and means. The best I can say as yet hope for (and even for this hope there is but too little encouragement) is, that the whole North may soon rally around the position taken by Colonel Cochrane, yourself and the Abolitionists.

But you will say that the Abolitionists are in favor of abolishing slavery. It is true that they are. And this, if you please, is their folly--nay, their wickedness, if you will so have it. Nevertheless, why argue from this folly and wickedness that they are not with Colonel Cochrane, when you see that they are? I am not writing an eulogy upon the Abolitionists. If I were, I would say that no other men are more cordially in the armed movement against the rebels. I would say that, in proportion to their numbers, no other men have furnished more soldiers or more comforts for soldiers and soldiers' families. I would say that none of them have come under so much as the slightest suspicion of indulging the secession spirit, or the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the rebels. I would say that Abolitionism is only another name for an intense hate of the rebellion. Moreover, I would say that they are ever ready to join hands with all in this great national fight against rebellion. They can go into it with anti-Abolitionists of every type--with those who admiringly read the New York Herald, the New York Express, the Journal of Commerce, and with those who feel that they cannot get to sleep without having a New York Observer under their pillow. Upon this fight I am as much bound to welcome the Pro-Slavery James Gordon Bennett as the Anti-Slavery Horace Greeley. The North is contending with a strong enemy whose hands may soon be strengthened with stronger enemies. In these circumstances, she cannot afford to be divided by miserable party prejudices and jealousies. To such an enemy she must present an unbroken front. I must be willing to work with you, and you with me, for the success of our arms--for in this we can work together, our differences about Abolition, or anything else, to the contrary notwithstanding. God grant that all Northern men may be able to tolerate their mutual differences so far as to stand shoulder to shoulder against the enemy!

I am not surprised to learn, as I do from the postscript of your letter, that Mr. Dickinson concurs with yourself and Colonel Cochrane. Months ago, I ascertained that he was more than a partisan--that he was a patriot, and was, therefore, ready to have the country saved by whatever means and at whatever expense to party, or to anything else.

Happy am I to know that you, and Mr. Dickinson, and many other distinguished Democrats feel that after the enemy is vanquished will be soon enough to recollect and reconstruct the Democratic party. Then, too, the Abolitionists will have more leisure for busying themselves with what Democrats regard as Abolition nonsense. Then, too, merchants, manufacturers and solemn priests may find more time and opportunity for contriving new guarantees for slavery. But, until the enemy is vanquished, let us, whatever the divisions among ourselves, be as one against him. Until then, let us care comparatively nothing to save this party or that, this Constitution or that, this system or that. Until then, let our one concern be to save our country. That saved, and we can restore the old Constitution or make a new one; but that lost, we shall have no need of either. That saved, there will be an ample theatre for parties to all who delight in them. That saved, and they who regard slavery as a blessing may find themselves in circumstances more favorable than ever for making the blessing abundant and sure.

The Abolitionists have always had the reputation of being bigoted and exclusive. But do not the broad common sense and the preeminent liberality which characterize them in this war go far to prove that they did not merit this bad reputation? Look, for instance, at the admirable course of their most distinguished leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Ever since the bombardment of Sumter, these bold iconoclastic reformers have addressed themselves to the new duties of the new circumstances, with a practical wisdom unsurpassed by that of the most calm and conservative statesmen. No men are more intent on saving the country; and no men see more clearly the folly of trying to save it by a partial use of the means for saving it. Nor are any more free to work with any in putting down the rebellion. Glad are they to have even the most Pro-Slavery men for their fellows in this work. The Garrison and Phillips school of Abolitionists have wisely suspended their strictures on the Constitution, and I would that the other school might suspend their defenses of it. Just now, there is not one minute, nor half a minute, to be spared to either school for presenting its view of the Constitution. My friend Henry B. Stanton gives a very amusing account of a gentleman, who, in the midst of the broken bones of a railroad accident, kept on arguing the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution. Indeed, so entirely unseasonable is all present talk of the Constitution, that, unless I know him to be the friend of the country, I set down every one, who is wasting his own time and the time of others with such talk, as the enemy of the country. I do not deny that there are many honest men who feel that their country would be lost, if the Constitution should be lost. They are more honest than enlightened. If left without a country, we would indeed be left without a Constitution. But it does not follow that we should be left without a country, were we left without a Constitution. It is not the Constitution that gave us the country, but the country that gave us the Constitution. The Constitution did not so much as give us our Government. On the contrary, our Government gave us our Constitution. We had our Government

before we had our Constitution. The principle of Democracy was our Government; and the Constitution that served to point out some of the modes by which the principle should govern. The Constitution did not create the union of the American people. Traditions, common memories and common hopes, fellowship in faith and fellowship in suffering did. The Constitution but enjoined ways for making an already existing union "a more perfect union."

Let us, then, have no fear that we shall be left without a Constitution. If the country survives the war, we shall not fail to have a Constitution; and if it does not, we shall not need one. Our present Constitution may be roughly handled by the necessities of war. Parts of it may be modified, and parts utterly destroyed. It may even need to be abandoned. Not only, however, shall we have a Constitution if we have a country, but we shall have a Democratic Constitution if only the Democratic principle shall have survived; for wherever that principle lives and reigns will be Democratic Constitutions. It produces such, and it can produce only such. England would not cease to be England, and to have a Government, by the repudiation of any, however large part of that long series of precedents which make up her Constitution. Should she lose one Constitution, she would quickly have another; and the Constitution which would come out of the great liberty-loving heart of her people would be essentially a Free Constitution.

Among the blessings which will result from this war, provided we shall have the wisdom to conquer in it (thus far we have had the power, but not the wisdom to use it)--among these blessings, I say, will be the restored love of country. That love was once the passion of the American heart. But demagogues have succeeded in making the passion give place to the worship of the Constitution; and should our country perish in its present perils, it will be owing to this unhappy substitution. President Lincoln is a man of understanding and of honest intentions; and why he has not, ere this, ended the war, and saved the country, is simply because he is a worshipper of the Constitution, and feels that he can love and honor and serve and save the country only through the Constitution. Every breach made in the Constitution is, in his eye, a breach made in the country; and with him the alarming prospect of a lost Constitution is all one with the alarming prospect of a lost country. But the good man cannot help it; for how rare is he who is able to surmount his education! And the President was educated to worship the Constitution. This education hampers him at every step. With all his heart would he save the country, but his reverence for the Constitution will not let him. He is capable of purposes to sweep away, even in his native Kentucky, every obstruction in the path of our cause; but palsied would be these purposes by such an appeal to that reverence as a Crittenden or Holt would make in the bare mention of constitutional objections.

Miserable substitute for the love of country is this worshipping of a paper!--quite as miserable as is the making more account of the suit of clothes than of the man who wears it! Yes, if the war shall have no other good effect than to bring back the popular heart from this debasing, shrivelling worship to the expanding and ennobling love of country, it will be worth all it has cost.

The one thing which, from the beginning of the war, I have striven for, is to contribute, so far as my little influence can, to band together all men and women, white, red and black, in the invincible determination to save the country--and to save it, too, even though it be in the face of the certainty that the saving of it will involve the destruction of party, slavery, Constitution, and what not else. Nothing short of this determination can suffice to overcome our foe; for he is most emphatically a determined foe--determined to wield every possible power and avail himself of every possible advantage for success. Whilst our boasted high style of civilization forbids our following the example, he calls the bloody Indian to his aid; and whilst we send back his fugitive slaves, he makes slaves his most effective helpers. And so determined is he, that he will spare nothing which stands in the way of his success. Not even slavery will he spare, if the sacrifice shall become necessary to his success. Rather than come under the North, he would unhesitatingly emancipate his slaves. A prominent member of the Government told me that slaveholding pride would prevent this. There is such pride--but it exists no longer. It is swallowed up in the all-availing pride to whip the North. When hard pressed by our victories, the South will (provided we shall continue so insane as to leave them in her hands) not hesitate to make unconquerable allies of her slaves by emancipating them. And, by the way, she would not fail to take into account the gaining of the world's sympathy by the measure. But there are persons who remind us that the South, inasmuch as she went to war for slavery, will never consent to give it up. Superficial thinkers are they. The cause of a quarrel is generally lost sight of. The parties to forget the cause in their passion to conquer. The dog or the dollar about which men come to blows is not what sustains and swells the interest of the battle: it is the blows themselves. That stage of the controversy in which the object of the South was the establishing of slavery was passed months ago. The joy of her final success against our invading armies would be scarcely at all diminished by the attendant loss of all her slaves.

I repeat what I have often said--THE PARTY WHICH GETS THE BLACKS TO FIGHT FOR IT, GETS THE VICTORY. May God move our Congress and our commanders, whilst yet it is not too late, to get the blacks to fight for us! But I must stop. I thank you for your letter. It cannot fail to do good. I beg you, however, not to ignore the fact that the Abolitionists are with you, and Mr. Dickinson, and Colonel Cochrane. Be not ashamed of your company--for you may be sure that, before this fight is through with you, you will feel the need of the help of all the despised classes--the Negroes, the Indians, and even the Abolitionists. Do not peril your country for the sake of gratifying old prejudices. Respectfully, your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

SPEECH OF GENERAL LANE, OF KANSAS, ON THE WAR.

Last Saturday forenoon, General James H. Lane, of Kansas, addressed a large audience at Tremont Temple. Notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, the Temple was well filled, and among the audience were many of our prominent citizens.

The speaker came upon the platform soon after eleven o'clock, accompanied by several prominent anti-slavery gentlemen, and was received with hearty applause.

F. W. Bird, Esq., of Walpole, called the meeting to order, and said that Gen. Lane had been detained by paying his first visit to Capt. Wilkes. (Applause.) He recommended Mr. Otis Clapp for Chairman, and he was appointed.

Upon taking the chair, Mr. Clapp said that desperate diseases required strong remedies, and without any further preliminary remark, introduced General Lane, who was again greeted with cheers.

General Lane said he felt embarrassed in addressing gentlemen in the habit of hearing eloquent and classic speeches. "When he set out in life, his mother said there was nothing to prevent his success but his unconquerable modesty. But he desired to return to the people of Boston the thanks of the people of Kansas for past generosity, which made that State free. (Applause.) The children of Kansas are taught gratitude to those who stood by them in 1855 and 1856.

He asked how much reverence there was in this assembly for slavery? (Answers from the audience--"None!") Born in a slave State, and nursed by a slave, he had now got rid of what reverence he ever had for it. (Applause.) My memory runneth not to the time when slavery did not threaten the Union. The threats of the South, the stuffing of ballot boxes, the raising of black flags in Kansas bearing the word

"Murder!" and the efforts of the late Administration to destroy the rebellion, followed by the attack on Sumter, and the assassination of your gallant sons in the streets of Baltimore, must destroy all respect for it.

"We want a speedy crushing out of rebellion, (applause), and a permanent peace. He is a coward who wants a peace patched up with the knowledge that our children will have this battle to fight over again; (Loud and repeated applause.) At last, we have the army and navy that can crush out the rebellion, but it cannot be done without removing the disease. All know that slavery is the disease, and that the war is only waged for slavery. Where is the man who would attempt a purification without curing the disease? He would be called a quack. The time has gone by for any one to attempt to show that the war is not waged for slavery. Ask the soldiers of Gen. Price what they are fighting for? They will answer "slavery." Ask the soldiers of Gen. Halleck, and they will make the same answer.

"Slavery" is written on their banners, and what is ours, is it not substantially the same, when we war for the old Union? The time has gone by to attempt to convince men that the war is waged for nothing but slavery. We all know it. When it is attempted to arouse your sympathies for the slaves of the Union men, remember that there are no Union men in secession communities. They are driven out, and their slaves are used as those of secession owners. When they say that loyal men can control their slaves in secession neighborhoods, they say that which is not true. I have given to Union men receipts for the loss of slaves, caused by the march of the Kansas brigade. These very slaves had been used for months by the traitors of Missouri by force. These certificates came back to me, directing me to give up those slaves to the bearers. An order of the government to give up loyal citizens for the benefit of traitors! Return them to slavery! Me! The people of Kansas return them to slavery! No, Sir! (Great cheering, and cries of "good!" "good!") He sought his commander, and told him his order was illegitimate, and that he would not obey it. (Cheers.)

How many soldiers' lives are you willing to give to maintain slavery? ("None.") As for myself, I will not shed a single drop of blood to save the accursed system. The slaves can be easily won over by kindness. When the Kansas Brigade first went into Missouri, the slaves were a "little off." They had been told all sorts of stories as to the treatment they would receive from "Lane's men." We had a few contrabands, however, who soon gave them better information, and the slaves flocked into our camp. Many of them were sent to Kansas, and went to work there.

If we are prosecuting this war to maintain slavery and crush treason, it will require two armies, and the slavery preserving army will have to be very careful how it strikes, as this institution of slavery has a very delicate organization. I consider its end as certain, whatever policy is pursued, because slavery cannot stand in a civil war.

But we are fighting to avoid bloodshed as far as possible, and to bring the contest to an end as soon as possible. If we are fighting to whip the South, let us make use of all the means that are placed in our power. Arm the negro against the negro. I am tempted to give a honest illustration of my position. ("Go ahead.") When I went to school, the boys used to have a fight every Saturday afternoon to see which was the smartest. Well, I had won my way next to the head. (Laughter.) The champion was a big fellow, three years older than me, named Joe Darrah--I shall never forget his name as long as I live. (Laughter.) When we "fist," we "fist" to win. It was none of your hitting above the belt, but regular scratching and gouging. For a long time I came off--well, second best, with him. One day he went in bathing, and received a severe bruise below his knee. I got him to show me the exact locality of the bruise, (laughter), and the next Saturday I called him out to fight. (Continued merriment.) I watched my opportunity, and brought my boot against the bruise, when Joe bellowed like a calf, and cried "enough." I went to the head. (Great laughter.) The rebellion has a sorer spot than "Joe Darrah's" bruise, and a good blow on it would be effectual.

If the proper policy had been pursued at Beaufort in regard to the slaves, there would have been a howl in rebellion before this time. The whole slave population would have been in motion towards freedom, and everything that stood in their path would be swept away. (Applause.) You ask, would not that be cruel? I say if we are to carry on this war to kill our own people instead of the rebels, we had better stop now. If it be inhuman, they have means to prevent it; let them return to their allegiance, and they shall be kindly received. But if the war is to be continued, we will use all the means in our power to conquer them. (Cheers.) This war shall never close while the shackles remain upon one slave. (Great applause.)

But we can't admit the slaves within our lines, because they will betray us. That's a lie! I would like to ask Gen. Halleck where he learnt that slaves betrayed our troops. ("A voice"--"At Washington.") We had in our Brigade five hundred slaves, and we received more valuable information from them as to the movements of the enemy, than from all other sources besides. They are faithful and grateful. They would die a thousand deaths rather than betray one secret of their liberators. It is not enough to replace upon their limbs the shackles--they must be lied about. Gen. Halleck's experience may be different from mine; but where did he get his experience? Don't understand me as denouncing Gen. Halleck; but I have been taught to denounce wrong--to vindicate the weak--and when I fail to do it, may God condemn me to the infernal regions. I have never seen Gen. Halleck--he is a stranger to me; but he has made a statement that I know to be false. (Applause.)

I have had a mind to relate an anecdote to show how the slaveholders cared for their property. ("Voices"--"Do it; do it.") Well, I will. We were marching to Springfield--I was in the rear of the column--when I was informed by one of my men that a woman in great distress wanted to see me. I told him to bring her to me, and he did. She was a big, brawny woman--fat, and over forty--and was crying. I asked her what the matter was. She said, "My two sons have joined the Confederate army, and now your soldiers have taken my two niggers." Said I, "My good woman, that is not the worst thing that could happen to you. I am on the track of your sons, and I shall probably catch them in a day or two, and hang them." (Laughter.) She threw her arms about my neck, and said, "General Lane, you may do what you want with my sons, if you'll only return the niggers." (Great laughter.) I disengaged myself from her embrace, but didn't promise to return her niggers.

The secessionists have four thousand Indians in their ranks. Last week they took three of my men, tied them to trees, and riddled them with balls. What should be done with these Indians? ("A voice"--"Swear them in, and let them go.") Yes. Missouri has been sworn over not less than three times already. (Laughter.)

I desire to say something in behalf of the Kansas Brigade. They are charged with being "Jay-hawkers." I say many of them are men of principle--golly men. Sturgis, after being with the Brigade a short time, called it a damned (I don't know as I ought to say it, as I see the reporters here) fanatical, temperate brigade. I have been with them three months, and I never saw a man intoxicated. At Osceola they knocked the heads out of five hundred barrels of whiskey, and never touched a drop. The first order issued to that Brigade made it an offence punishable with death for any soldier to enter a private house without permission of a superior officer. If we are "Jay-hawkers," we are so for you, through the Government. My soldiers have taken thousands of sacks of salt from the storehouses of Missouri, and distributed it among the loyal men of the State. I saw Adjutant General Thomas's charge against me before it was made public, and I immediately set down and wrote to General Hunter, pronouncing the charge false and

scandalous, and demanding an investigation. (Applause.) It is said that we stole women and children's clothing. In answer to that I can only say that I am not responsible if niggers are men. (Laughter.) A number of slaves, men, women and children, took it into their heads, in a certain instance, to be free, and they furnished themselves with a portion of the clothing of their former owners. They made a fair division, I have no doubt. I was not responsible. (Laughter.) All I did was to see that the white babies did not deprive the black babies of their clothing. (Continued laughter.)

The only way we can bring this contest in a successful issue is by striking directly and with all our power at the foundation. I would oppose bow-knife to bow-knife, Indian to Indian, nigger to nigger, and freedom to slavery. (Cheers.) If you do not like that plan, furnish a substitute, equally powerful, for closing the war. Our present policy will cause the war to drag along for years. You cannot with the same army crush out treason and preserve slavery. There must be two armies to do that, and it will cost more to preserve slavery than to crush out treason. Write "Freedom," then, on all your banners, and the spirit of the old Crusaders will animate your armies, firmness and steadiness will be imparted to your power, victory will be gained, and a permanent peace secured.

The meeting broke up with cheers for "Gen. Lane and the Kansas Brigade, and Gen. Fremont."

The Boston Courier notices this straightforward and telling speech in the following characteristic strain of railing--

GENERAL J. LANE. A helter-skelter abolition harangue filled the anti-slavery exercises of last week. The address of General Lane speaks for itself. It is equally unprincipled, ineffectual and vulgar; the speech of a marauder, not a statesman--and what a man this is, to take his seat in the once honorable Senate of the United States! The tone of his sentiment may be seen in the graceful anecdote he gives of himself and "Joe Darrah." The small craft, in ascending the place of his rival's bruise, and his generous use of this stolen advantage, shows what a "Jay-hawker" he is. And then to tell of it, too, with such consciousness of merit, proves what a successful effort he must have made long since to overcome not only his native modesty, but all other qualities usually attributed to a soldier and a gentleman. The audience appears to have been not very full, but sympathetic. A timely snow-storm kept back some of the strongest-minded women and weak-minded men, especially from the neighboring towns; still, they were represented, and their representatives evidently enjoyed the intellectual and patriotic entertainment provided.

As the report we publish of Gen. Lane's speech is mainly the Courier's own, (and therefore none too favorable), our readers can easily decide as to the justice of such a criticism. (1) The rattlesnake venom of the Courier is ejected because Gen. Lane goes for liberty, and not for slavery. But here is a tribute of a very different character, and from the right quarter:

THE WESTERN LIBERATOR.

In the list of vindictive and partisan presses, we know none equal to the St. Louis Republican. For weeks and months it has vented its spleen upon Gen. Lane and his little Spartan command. They have been represented as marauding and outlaws, knowing no watchword but plunder, and hesitating at no crime which might inure to their material profit. Justice to Gen. Lane and his brigade demands that these wicked defamations and unfounded falsehoods should be sent to the teeth of the slanderous authors. The march of Gen. Lane through Missouri was a triumphal progress. From Kansas City to Greenfield he was presented with three flags--evidencing the confidence and devotion of the people.

With less than twelve hundred men, General Lane marched eight hundred miles through an enemy's country, and the show of his campaign was a triumphal progress. From Kansas City to Greenfield he was presented with three flags--evidencing the confidence and devotion of the people.

LABORS IN VERMONT.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,--It was my intention, when I finished my recent lecturing tour in Vermont, to have given the friends of our cause a brief sketch of its apparent interests and successes at an earlier day.

No lecturing tour which I have ever made in New England has been attended by so many earnest auditors. With but two exceptions, my meetings were large, and, in some cases, very large. In every instance but one--as far as I could learn--the clergy-men gave notice of my meetings when requested, and in many instances attended the meetings, and, in two, invited me to speak for the slave in their pulpits, during one of the regular services of their Sunday meetings. These two instances were in Peasland and Bradford. To my most radical utterances, in relation to the antagonism of slavery to Christian civilization, and the progress and happiness of the race, there was, in every case, an earnest and quick response. To the demand that slavery, the cause of the war, should be wiped out from the land, there was a response equally earnest and quick.

My labors were made exceedingly pleasant by the kindness and sympathy and earnest cooperation of the friends of our glorious cause. I am especially indebted, for the success of my labors, and for the peace and comfort of my flesh and spirit, to the hospitality and sympathy of the Hutchinsons, the Spears--to our ever zealous and faithful friend Claffin--to our friend Coburn--to Rev. Mr. Stone of Northfield--to Rev. Mr. Bliss of Barre--to the friends at Danville Green--to our friend Johnson and the Congregational clergyman of Peasland--to Whipple, Burrell and others, in St. Johnsbury--to Rev. Mr. Palmer of Waterford--to friends in Concord--to the friends at McIndoe Falls--to the friends at Rye Gate--to our well-known and long-trying friend, Rev. Mr. Johnston of Topsham--to the Seavers and other friends at Washington--to Mr. Winslip and Rev. D. McKee of Bradford--to the Comings in Cornish, N. H.--to the Coopers in Croydon--to our ever-faithful friends in Bradleboro, Vt.--and to our ever-faithful and loving friend Webb of Keene, N. H. All these dear friends, and many others, whose names have escaped me, are embathed in my affectionate and grateful remembrance. To a Mr. Hanks of Bethel, I am under especial obligations for his hospitality and kindness in taking me with his team many miles to my next appointment; also, to a poor man who, having nothing else to give, called to me as I passed his house, on the morning after my meeting in Bethel, and presented me with a string of the largest-sized genuine roots I ever saw. They were worth at least fifty cents at the apothecaries, and to me, as an expression of his interest in the cause of humanity, they were above all price.

I spent a pleasant week at Bradleboro, at the Cold Water Establishment of our friend Francis. This is the oldest--with one exception--of the numerous family of water cure establishments in the country;

and it is deservedly the most popular. The establishment is large, convenient, and as well adapted to its design as money and genius could make it. The water is of the purest, sweetest kind. All the baths known to hydrophaty are here in perfection. The scenery around is of the most beautiful and inspiring character. Taking all things into account, the healthful atmosphere, the purity of the water, the skill of the medical department, the beauty of the scenery, and the urbanity and kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Francis, I think this the very place of all places to head diseased bodies, and to revive desponding spirits and sweeten sour tempers. I would advise all my friends who need medical aid to seek it here.

My recent contact with the great heart of the people assures me that the demand for the removal of slavery, the bitter root that poisons all our happiness, is becoming imperative, and will be obeyed.

Yours, in the contest and in the victory, A. T. FOSS.

Ferdinand Wood, who represents the race, tyranny and rebellion of New York, has failed to secure his reelection as Mayor of that city--Mr. O'Byrne (Republican) being the successful candidate. A great deliverance! Now let Boston, on Monday next, make Mayor J. M. Wightman "walk the plank" as summarily, and redeem her tarnished character!

The lecture of Frederick Douglass, on "Pictures and Progress," before the Fraternity Association, at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening, was creditably written and warmly applauded.

The Letter of Gerrit Smith to Edwin Crosswell, in another column, we copy from a printed circular kindly sent to us by the author. Read it.

WILL OF THE LATE FRANCIS JACKSON.

The Will of the late Francis Jackson, of this city, has been presented for probate. It is a lengthy document, and was signed on the 28th of January last. His brother, Edmund Jackson, is made executor of the Will. He gives \$100 each to Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, Lydia Maria Child, Oliver Johnson, Charles Lenox Remond, Charles K. Whipple and Robert F. Wallcut, "as a token of esteem for their fidelity to the principle, and their devotion to the cause of human freedom, of innocent persons." For a like reason he gives to Wm. Lloyd Garrison the sum of \$4000, to be used in support of himself and wife, and the education of Francis J. Garrison at Harvard College, after he shall have left the public school in Boston. He appoints Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, Edmund Jackson, William I. Bowditch, Samuel May, Jr., and Charles K. Whipple, a Board of Trustees to receive funds designated in the Will to be used to create a public sentiment in favor of putting an end to negro slavery--leaving a bequest of \$10,000 in their hands for this purpose.

He constitutes Mr. Phillips as President, Mr. E. Jackson as Treasurer, and Mr. Whipple as Secretary of this Board. He also gives to this Board \$2000, to be used in aid of fugitive slaves, and in this connection speaks as follows:--

"Disregarding the self-evident Declaration of 1776, repeated in her own Constitution of 1780, that 'all men are born free and equal,' Massachusetts has since, in the face of those solemn declarations, deliberately entered into a conspiracy with other States, to aid in enslaving millions of innocent persons. I have long labored to help my native State out of her deep iniquity, and her barefaced hypocrisy in this matter--I now enter my last protest against her inconsistency, her injustice, and her cruelty, toward an inoffensive people. God save the fugitive slaves that escape to her borders, wherever they may become of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!"

He appoints Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony a Board of Trustees, and gives them \$5000, to be used to secure the passage of laws granting women the right to vote, hold office, &c.

He says that he has given each of his three children eight thousand dollars hereafter, and the balance of his estate is to be divided into three equal parts. The income of one part is to be given to a daughter and her children, and at their decease the principal is to go to the Trustees having charge of the Women's Rights Fund.

The other two-thirds to his other children, and their children, and at their decease, the principal is to be given to the Trustees who have in charge the matter of creating a public sentiment in favor of the abolition of negro slavery.--Boston Traveller.

CONGRESS--IMPORTANT. In the Senate, on Tuesday, a resolution was introduced, for the release of colored persons confined in prison in Washington by the executive of the United States. The balance of his estate is to be divided into three equal parts. The income of one part is to be given to a daughter and her children, and at their decease the principal is to go to the Trustees having charge of the Women's Rights Fund.

Mr. Hale advocated the resolution, saying he thought the community of Washington the most corrupt in the country, and urged that it was the duty of Congress to look into the administration of justice in this District.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, to report immediately the names of all persons confined in jail in the city and the causes of their commitment, the names of the magistrates by whom they were committed, and the names of the persons who made the first arrest.

A resolution was passed, that the laws now in force in the District of Columbia, relating to the arrest of fugitives from service, together with all other laws concerning persons of color within the District, be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and that the Committee be instructed to consider the expediency of abolishing slavery within the District, with compensation to the owners of the slaves.

Senator Wilson has just introduced a bill, providing for the punishment of all officers or privates of any regiment who shall return fugitive slaves to their rebel masters, and who shall be liable to execution. Senator Sumner made some severe comments in the Senate this morning, upon General Halleck's recent order, forbidding slaves to enter the lines of the Western army, and says it is a mistaken and mischievous policy.

WIRELESS, Va., Dec. 2. In the Convention, to-day, Mr. Hogan, of Barne, offered the following:--

Whereas, negro slavery is the origin and foundation of our national troubles, and the cause of the terrible rebellion now in progress, and that is seeking to overthrow our Government; and

Whereas, slavery is incompatible with the word of God, detrimental to the interest of a free people, as well as wrong to slaves themselves;--therefore, Resolved, That the Convention inquire into the expediency of making the proposed new State free State, and a provision be inserted for the gradual emancipation of all slaves within the proposed boundaries of the new State, to be submitted to the people of the same for their approval or rejection. Referred to the Committee on Fundamental and General Provisions.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists" as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while other carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfillment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carelessness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity. We, Abolitionists, still have unwaning faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most-momentous and trying crisis.

- L. Maria Child, Mary Willey, Ann Rebecca Bramhall, Mary May, Sarah P. Remond, Louisa Loring, Henrietta Sargent, Mary E. Stearns, Sarah Russell May, Sarah J. Novell, Helen Eliza Garrison, Elizabeth Von Arnim, Anna Blake Greene, Anne Langdon Alger, Sarah Shaw, Eliza A. Phoy, Caroline C. Thayer, Sarah Cowing, Abby Kelley Foster, Sarah H. Southwick, Lydia D. Parker, Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Augusta G. King, Sarah C. Atkinson, Mattie Griffith, Abby Francis, Mary Jackson, Mary Jane Parkman, Evelina A. Smith, Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephenson, Elizabeth Gay, Abby F. Manley, Katherine Earle Farnum.

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

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A. T. FOSS, an Agent of

HALLOWED GROUND.

What's hallowed ground—has earth a sod
By man's hand should not be trod
By man, the image of his God...

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

This infernal rebellion is an inevitable and direct
result of American slavery. Let no side issues for a
moment divert us. By every power within human
means that can be brought to bear upon the people at
home...

The periodical press of the church has been to make
slavery respectable and Christian; and to screen the
owners of and dealers in human blood and blood
from punishment and disgrace.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

Never in history did Rebellion assume such a front.
Call their numbers 400,000 or 200,000—what you
will—they far surpass any armed force ever before
marshaled in rebellion; they are among the largest

The duty which I suggest, if not urgent now, as a
military necessity, in just self-defense, will present it-
self constantly on other grounds as our arms cease to
advance in the Slave States or land on their coast.

"ASPIRE."

Higher, higher, ever higher,—
Let the watchword be, "Aspire!"
Noble Christian youth;
Whoso'er be God's behest,
Try to do that duty best,
In the strength of Truth.

PRESS ON!

We shall go forth together. There will come
Alike the day of trial unto all,
And the rude world will buffet us alike.
Temptation hath a music for all ears;
And mad Ambition trembleth to all;

A VOICE FROM THE WEST.

DEAR SIR—I have recently received a letter, dated
Nov. 18th, from a respected minister of the Gospel in
Illinois, whose name I withhold, as the publication
of it might cause him some trouble; but I have his
permission to give you the following extract for
insertion in your paper.

REASONS FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Such is the title of a letter (published in pamphlet
form) from Rev. Hiram Mattison to Rev. James Erwin,
Presiding Elder of the Rome District, Black River
Conference.

IMPROVEMENT IN Champeau and Hair Dyeing.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER
WOULD inform the public that she has removed from
2123 Washington Street, to
No. 31 WINTER STREET.